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# School Enrollment and Population Decrease in Rural Nepal : A Case of Gorkha District

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## 1. National Population Trend of Nepal

After 2001, Population of Nepal is growing by annual 1.40% growth rate, according to the National Census of Nepal. Table 1 shows district level population trends of Nepal, and we understand Nepal is divided into the two blocks. One is districts population is still growing, however, for the first time after official population census started in this country, there are 23 districts where population trend have clearly reversed into minus range. Most rapid population increase is very clear at Kathmandu Valley (Kathmandu, Bhaktapur and Lalitpur District) and rather moderate growth is shown in Tarai (Southern Belt of fertile plains where 3 quarter of grain product is available), and also in Western Nepal where socio-economic condition is relatively underdeveloped. On the other hand, population decrease during the decade of 2001-2011 are observed in those districts geographically concentrated to the Himalayan / Hill Area of Central / Western Development Region (See Fig. 1). These districts are also known as origin area of huge out-migration flow of youth male out-migration to foreign employment from Nepal (KOBAYASHI: 2010).

## 2. Local Population Trend in Gorkha District, a rural area of Western Nepal

Gorkha District is located in Western Nepal, and its decrease ratio of population during 2001-2011 was -6.51%. The rate seems to moderate. However, according to the population data by every village and city (in Nepalese administration system, Village Development Committee (VDC) and the only one Municipality, in the district, Prithvi Narayan (also called simply 'Gorkha'), village-level de-population trend is severe. Table 2 and Fig. 2 is the result of local population data analysis that shows Gorkha District also has a 'dual structure of population'.

Table 1. Population of Nepal by District (2001-2011)

S.N.	Area	Population 2001 Total	Population, 2011 Total	Population Change (%) 2001-2011	Annual Growth Rate (%)
	Nepal	23,151,423	26,620,809	14.99	1.40
1	Mountain	1,687,859	1,795,354	6.37	0.62
2	Hill	10,251,111	11,475,001	11.94	1.13
3	Tarai	11,212,453	13,350,454	19.07	1.75
1	Urban	3,227,879	4,525,787	40.21	3.38
2	Rural	19,923,544	22,095,022	10.90	1.03
1	EDR	5,344,476	5,834,182	9.16	0.88
2	CDR	8,031,629	9,713,702	20.94	1.90
3	WDR	4,571,013	4,945,190	8.19	0.79
4	MWDR	3,012,975	3,584,386	18.97	1.74
5	FWDR	2,191,330	2,543,349	16.06	1.49
1	Taplejung	134,698	128,547	-4.57	-0.47
2	Panchthar	202,056	198,362	-1.83	-0.18
3	Ilam	282,806	295,824	4.60	0.45
4	Jhapa	688,109	810,636	17.81	1.64
5	Morang	843,220	964,709	14.41	1.35
6	Sunsari	625,633	751,125	20.06	1.83
7	Dhankuta	166,479	164,133	-1.41	-0.14
8	Terhathum	113,111	101,709	-10.08	-1.06
9	Sankhuwasabha	159,203	159,649	0.28	0.03
10	Bhojpur	203,018	183,918	-9.41	-0.99
11	Solukhumbu	107,686	106,772	-0.85	-0.09
12	Okhaldhunga	156,702	148,320	-5.35	-0.55
13	Khotang	231,385	209,130	-9.62	-1.01
14	Udavapur	287,689	321,962	11.91	1.13
15	Saptari	570,282	646,250	13.32	1.25
16	Siraha	572,399	643,136	12.36	1.17
17	Dhanusa	671,364	768,404	14.45	1.35
18	Mahottari	553,481	646,405	16.79	1.55
19	Sarlahi	635,701	768,649	20.91	1.90
20	Sindhuli	279,821	294,621	5.29	0.52
21	Ramechhap	212,408	205,312	-3.34	-0.34
22	Dolakha	204,229	188,186	-7.86	-0.82
23	Sindhupalchok	305,857	289,455	-5.36	-0.55
24	Kavrepalanchowk	385,672	389,959	1.11	0.11
25	Lalitpur	337,785	466,784	38.19	3.23
26	Bhaktapur	225,461	303,027	34.40	2.96
27	Kathmandu	1,081,845	1,740,977	60.93	4.76
28	Nuwakot	288,478	278,761	-3.37	-0.34
29	Rasuwa	44,731	43,798	-2.09	-0.21
30	Dhading	338,658	336,250	-0.71	-0.07
31	Makwanpur	392,604	427,494	8.89	0.85
32	Rautahat	545,132	696,221	27.72	2.45
33	Bara	559,135	701,037	25.38	2.26
34	Parsa	497,219	601,701	21.01	1.91
35	Chitawan	472,048	566,661	20.04	1.83
36	Gorkha	288,134	269,388	-6.51	-0.67
37	Lamjung	177,149	169,104	-4.54	-0.46
38	Tanahu	315,237	330,581	4.87	0.48
39	Syangja	317,320	288,040	-9.23	-0.97
40	Kaski	380,527	490,429	28.88	2.54
41	Manang	9,587	6,527	-31.92	-3.84
42	Mustang	14,981	13,799	-7.89	-0.82
43	Myagdi	114,447	113,731	-0.63	-0.06
44	Parbat	157,826	147,076	-6.81	-0.71
45	Baglung	268,937	270,009	0.40	0.04
46	Gulmi	296,654	283,577	-4.41	-0.45
47	Palpa	268,558	269,372	0.30	0.03
48	Nawalparasi	562,870	635,793	12.96	1.22
49	Rupandehi	708,419	886,706	25.17	2.24
50	Kapilbastu	481,976	570,612	18.39	1.69
51	Arghakhanchi	208,391	200,446	-3.81	-0.39
52	Pyuthan	212,484	235,165	10.67	1.01
53	Rolpa	210,004	227,075	8.13	0.78
54	Rukum	188,438	210,878	11.91	1.13
55	Salvan	213,500	243,575	14.09	1.32
56	Dang	462,380	557,852	20.65	1.88
57	Banka	385,840	493,017	27.78	2.45
58	Bardiya	382,649	426,946	11.58	1.10
59	Surkhet	288,527	360,104	24.81	2.22
60	Dailikh	225,201	263,835	17.16	1.58
61	Jajarkot	134,868	172,565	27.95	2.46
62	Dolpa	29,545	36,701	24.22	2.17
63	Jumla	89,427	108,734	21.59	1.95
64	Kalikot	105,580	141,620	34.14	2.94
65	Mugu	43,937	55,311	25.89	2.30
66	Humla	40,595	51,008	25.65	2.28
67	Bajura	108,781	135,506	24.57	2.20
68	Bajhang	167,026	196,277	17.51	1.61
69	Achham	231,285	258,022	11.56	1.09
70	Doti	207,066	211,827	2.30	0.23
71	Kailali	616,697	770,279	24.90	2.22
72	Kanchanpur	377,899	444,315	17.58	1.62
73	Dadeldhura	126,162	141,543	12.19	1.15
74	Baitadi	234,418	252,116	7.55	0.73
75	Darchaula	121,996	133,464	9.40	0.90

Data source: CBS Nepal, "Population Census" 2001 & 2011

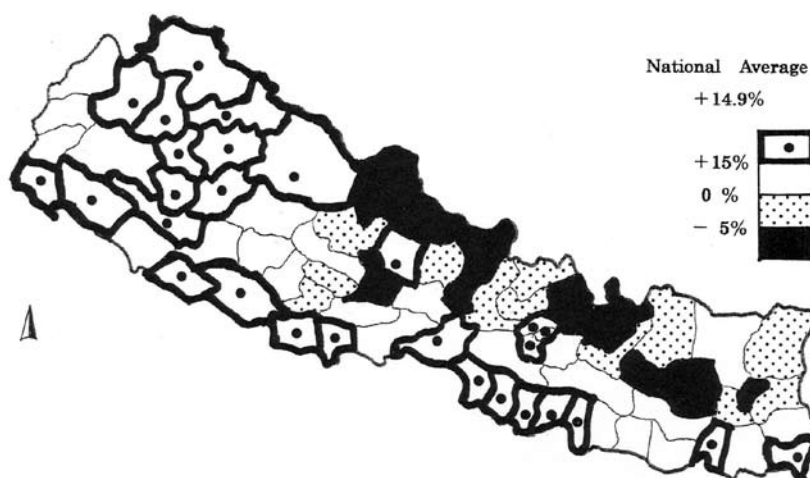


Fig. 1 Population Growth (%) in 2001-2011

Table 2 shows that more than half of rural villages (34 of total 66) experienced minus trend under -10%, and population increase (plus trend) is observed only in 9 village/city, most of them was lower than +5%. The contrast is very clear, during 1991-2001 period, only 6 village recorded decrease and 39 village/city show index higher than +10% and over. Fig. 2 is the map of population trend during 2001-2011 period. Rapid population increase (over +20%) is only recorded by Prithvi Narayan, the capital city of District, and other Aaruchanaute village that has a function of trading center with neighboring District Dhadin. Other plus district are only some big-size township rather distant from District capital (see Fig. 2).

### 3. Road Construction, Urbanization and Rural Population Decrease

Most area of Gorkha district was controlled by Maoist (Nepal Communist Party – Maoism Group) during the first decade of 2000's, situation of rural village was not well known. In order to start detail field research, The author tried advance interview for some local citizen in December 2013. Informant includes former chief of the local campus (Tribhuvan University Gorkha Campus, higher education center of Gorkha District) whose hometown is Gorkha Municipality, teacher of 20 years career at local secondary school, and former secretary of Gorkha District Administration Office. That survey was held in December 2013.

The main reason of the population decrease, according to most of informants met recommend, is out-migration for employment. Gorkha District is one of main district supplying employment for abroad in this country. Sex-ratio index of Gorkha District and many villages are under 100 (see Table 2), that means some members of youth male went abroad and absent in home. Globalization trend encourage such migration every year, so out-migration is still increasing.

Traditional out-migration for employment was temporary, and single out-flow. However, recently not only young youth, but also other family member of the family tend to out-migrate to center city. Population growth index of Prithvi Narayan and Aaruchanaute is caused by that trend.

That change was caused through road-network construction developed from 1990's. According to the local official of District Administration, unpaved road from the District capital to surrounding suburb area was constructed in early 1990's, however at first the effect was not huge. But after paved road replaced the former unpaved road network, now we can easily move into villages of 20-25km far in about one hour. Adding this, remittance from absent family member help Nepalese citizen to buy motor bike, which have well be popular for commuting

Table 2. Population Change in Gorkha District, 1990-2011

S.N. city/village	1991 Census Population			2001 Census Population			2011 Census Population			Sex Ratio *			Population Growth ※
	Total	(Male)	(Female)	Total	(Male)	(Female)	Total	(Male)	(Female)	1991	2001	2011	
1 Aanppipal	5124	2328	2796	5161	2271	2890	4029	1716	2313	83.3	78.6	74.2	100.7
2 Aaruarbang	4313	1993	2320	5012	2316	2696	4496	1963	2533	85.9	85.9	77.5	116.2
3 Aaruchanaute	2478	1175	1303	3267	1551	1716	4327	1979	2348	90.2	90.4	84.3	131.8
4 Aarupokhari	4737	2634	2103	5465	2586	2879	4564	2005	2559	125.2	89.8	78.4	115.4
5 Asrang	3241	1531	1710	3880	1727	2153	3406	1443	1963	89.5	80.2	73.5	119.7
6 Baguwa	2286	1032	1254	2246	976	1270	1965	862	1103	82.3	76.9	78.2	98.3
7 Bakrang	3571	1639	1932	3804	1694	2110	3019	1303	1716	84.8	80.3	75.9	106.5
8 Barpak	4556	2212	2344	4825	2266	2559	4985	2204	2781	94.4	88.6	79.3	105.9
9 Bhumlichok	2964	1429	1535	3750	1823	1927	3545	1653	1892	93.1	94.6	87.4	126.5
10 Bihi	890	421	469	834	414	420	612	288	324	89.8	98.6	88.9	93.7
11 Borlang	4737	3762	975	5383	2449	2934	5044	2281	2763	385.8	83.5	82.6	113.6
12 Bunkot	6599	2913	3686	7478	3295	4183	6260	2628	3632	79.0	78.8	72.4	113.3
13 Chhekampur	1270	660	610	1195	547	648	983	434	494	108.2	84.4	87.9	94.1
14 Chhoprak	6306	2997	3309	6829	3121	3708	5893	2608	3285	90.6	84.2	79.4	108.3
15 Chumchet	979	498	481	1009	500	509	928	434	494	103.5	98.2	87.9	103.1
16 Chyangi	5612	2706	2906	6517	3044	3473	6286	2715	3571	93.1	87.6	76.0	116.1
17 Darbung	3205	1557	1648	3794	1773	2021	3386	1530	1856	94.5	87.7	82.4	118.4
18 Deurali	4800	2320	2480	5720	2708	3012	5514	2449	3065	93.5	89.9	79.9	119.2
19 Dhawa	3545	1597	1948	4040	1815	2225	3570	1501	2069	82.0	81.6	72.5	114.0
20 Dhunwakot	3814	1814	2000	4658	2188	2470	4259	1850	2409	90.7	88.6	76.8	122.1
21 Finam	2993	1284	1709	3437	1512	1925	3097	1309	1788	75.1	78.5	73.2	114.8
22 Fugel	4563	2151	2412	5416	2465	2951	4694	1998	2696	89.2	83.5	74.1	118.7
23 Gaikhur	4793	2284	2509	5076	2322	2754	5003	2189	2814	91.0	84.3	77.8	105.9
24 Gakhu	2870	1375	1495	3277	1565	1662	2986	1348	1638	92.0	94.2	82.3	114.2
25 Ghairung	4348	1952	2396	4661	2069	2592	3990	1687	2303	81.5	79.8	73.3	107.2
26 Ghyalchok	4659	2341	2318	6140	2993	3147	5942	2759	3193	101.0	95.1	86.4	131.8
27 Prithvi Narayan	20633	9989	10644	25783	12301	13482	32473	14713	17760	93.8	91.2	82.8	125.0
28 Gumda	2312	1108	1204	2470	1146	1324	2303	1061	1242	92.0	86.6	85.4	106.8
29 Hansapur	4377	2048	2329	4393	2087	2306	3658	1640	2018	87.9	90.5	81.3	100.4
30 Harmi	3910	1779	2131	4182	1838	2344	3450	1488	1962	83.5	78.4	75.8	107.0
31 Jaubari	3398	1637	1761	3646	1667	1879	2987	1338	1649	93.0	88.7	81.1	107.3
32 Kashigaun	1440	715	725	1777	882	895	1837	860	977	98.6	98.5	88.0	123.4
33 Kerabari	2692	1280	1412	2920	1400	1520	2440	1103	1337	90.7	92.1	82.5	108.5
34 Kerauja	2621	1246	1375	3134	1490	1644	3248	1459	1789	90.6	90.6	81.6	119.6
35 Kharibot	1848	1335	513	2924	1364	1560	2453	1141	1312	260.2	87.4	87.0	158.2
36 Khoplang	5227	2436	2791	5933	2792	3141	5193	2267	2926	87.3	88.9	77.5	113.5
37 Laprak	2165	1055	1110	2153	1002	1151	2161	972	1189	95.0	87.1	81.7	99.4
38 Lapu	1650	781	869	2033	914	1119	1823	802	1021	89.9	81.7	78.6	123.2
39 Lho	899	442	457	837	410	427	711	320	391	96.7	96.0	81.8	93.1
40 Makaising	2231	1080	1151	2390	1145	1245	2307	1094	1213	93.8	92.0	90.2	107.1
41 Manakamana	5083	2493	2590	6521	3143	3378	6203	2876	3327	96.3	93.0	86.4	128.3
42 Manbu	5414	2600	2814	6131	2960	3171	6016	2692	3324	92.4	93.3	81.0	113.2
43 Masel	4025	1861	2164	4408	1924	2484	3827	1593	2234	86.0	77.5	71.3	109.5
44 Mirkot	5625	2716	2909	6515	3218	3297	5261	2407	2854	93.4	97.6	84.3	115.8
45 Muchhok	3663	1707	1956	4187	1934	2253	3779	1737	2042	87.3	85.8	85.1	114.3
46 Namjung	3370	1580	1790	3772	1747	2025	3055	1339	1716	88.3	86.3	78.0	111.9
47 Nareswar	4309	1970	2339	4501	2025	2476	3692	1563	2129	84.2	81.8	73.4	104.5
48 Palungtar	6982	3262	3720	8257	3851	4406	8143	3460	4683	87.7	87.4	73.9	118.3
49 Panchkhuwa Deurali	2150	1000	1150	2422	1102	1320	2111	895	1216	87.0	83.5	73.6	112.7
50 Pandrung	2803	1282	1521	3021	1367	1654	2524	1102	1422	84.3	82.6	77.5	107.8
51 Pork	739	359	380	732	333	399	575	273	302	94.5	83.5	90.4	99.1
52 Samagaun	665	329	336	650	309	341	604	281	323	97.9	90.6	87.0	97.7
53 Saurpani	5178	2494	2684	5516	2298	3218	5958	2614	3344	92.9	71.4	78.2	106.5
54 Shreenathkot	3503	1659	1844	3851	1835	2016	3147	1396	1751	90.0	91.0	79.7	109.9
55 Simjung	5407	2600	2807	6233	2939	3294	5712	2647	3065	92.6	89.2	86.4	115.3
56 Sirdibas	2225	1141	1084	2454	1211	1243	2510	1171	1339	105.3	97.4	87.5	110.3
57 Swara	3291	1572	1719	3985	1824	2071	3713	1665	2048	91.4	88.1	81.3	121.1
58 Taklung	4835	2279	2556	5413	2545	2868	5028	2232	2796	89.2	88.7	79.8	112.0
59 Takukot	4234	1978	2256	4496	1991	2505	3869	1665	2204	87.7	79.5	75.5	106.2
60 Takumajh Lakuribot	2553	1211	1342	2740	1224	1516	2229	958	1271	90.2	80.7	75.4	107.3
61 Tandrang	4368	1971	2397	4928	2107	2821	4221	1816	2405	82.2	74.7	75.5	112.8
62 Tanglichok	3273	1520	1753	3632	1696	1936	3369	1525	1844	86.7	87.6	82.7	111.0
63 Taple	4398	1996	2402	4992	2185	2807	4496	1925	2571	83.1	77.8	74.9	113.5
64 Thalajung	3357	1555	1802	3455	1599	1856	2725	1240	1485	86.3	86.2	83.5	102.9
65 Thumi	3690	1804	1886	4462	2050	2412	4481	2000	2481	95.7	85.0	80.6	120.9
66 Uhiya	1728	816	912	1986	919	1067	1857	823	1034	89.5	86.1	79.6	114.9
Gorkha Dist	252524	121327	131197	288134	134407	153727	271061	121041	150020	92.5	87.4	80.7	114.1

\*Sex Ratio = 100 × male population / female population

※Population Growth = 100 × 2001(2011)population / 1991(2001)population

Data source: Statistics Data from Gorkha District Local Administration Office

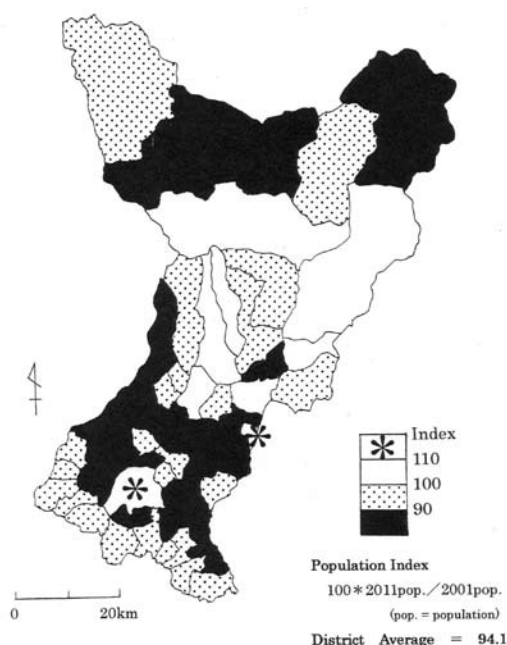


Fig. 2 Population Growth during 2001 / 2011 in Gorkha District

(Data Source : Statistical Data from Gorkha District Local Administration Office)

even in rural district. For example, not only for the administrative officials, but also for school teachers, living in the village where he serve isn't necessary. He can commute to their business area by bus or bike. Distribution of goods is also similar. Till 1990's local residents have a chance to earn money by connecting goods distribution or bundling service of some distance on their foot, however, after truck transport had built, small nodes lose importance at distribution network.

This means that traditional small scale network based on foot transport is now re-organizing. Local administration area is divided in very small scale in the dense resident area (southern part of district) as village borderline shows on Fig. 2. Every village center of 4-5km supplied simple function of 'smallest urban center' for local residents, however now goods are gathered only some integrated big center, for example the capital city Prithvi Narayan and the second town Aaruchanaute mentioned before.

According to the school teacher teaching in the small village school, because of that trend, land price of center area in small village decreased recently, and empty rooms or shop space is not rare. In addition, motor transportation carry grains and vegetables from Southern Nepal or India. Price of these imported foods is relatively cheap because agricultural condition is not convenient here in mountainous area. In short, development of road system is not entirely good

for rural inhabitants.

On the other hand, the capital city Gorkha gathers various economic and social functions. As mentioned before, rapid rate growth of population mainly from rural villages surrounding, makes inflation of land-price in Gorkha, and city area and service industries are growing (Fig. 3 & 4).



Fig. 3 Round Area of Prithvi Narayan Municipality

(Left) 1989 Sept. (Right) 2013 Dec. photo by the author.

*Many new housing is still under construction.*

*←← of right photo is the road in center of left photo (↓).*

*⇒ of the both photo is the same symbol tree.*

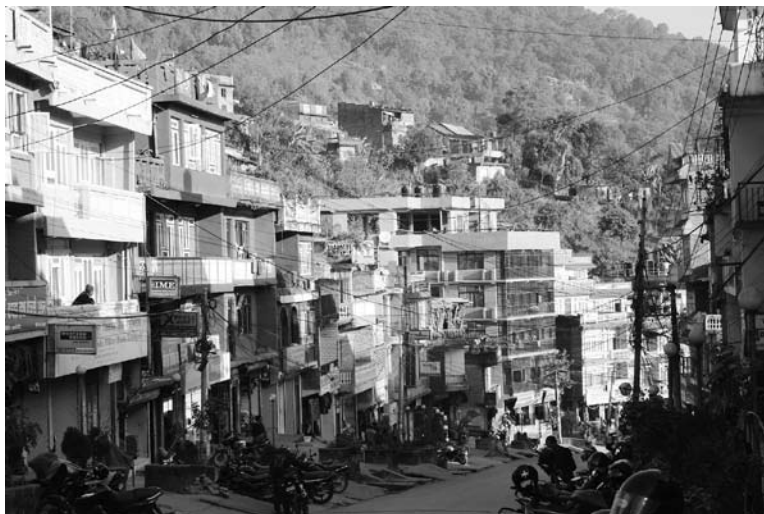


Fig. 4 New Housing in Prithvi Narayan Municipality

2013 Dec. photo by the author.

*Since population is concentrating to the capital city throughout the district, real estate acquisition is one of easy way to manage remittance from abroad or other income. Motorbike is generalized device for commuting.*

#### 4. School Enrollment and Population Decrease

In Japan, rapid economic development between 1960's and early 70's, rural to urban migration is similarly caused through transport and agricultural change. Many industrial cities of Pacific Region recruit youth employer from mountainous region. In Nepal, employment is not only domestic but mainly global (KOBAYASHI: 2010), so local centers are required to support various social service for families of migrant workers, or to provide economic chance for income during or after employment abroad. According to the analysis of population data, and general recognition of local people, after 2000, rural communities are now under process of re-organization, and it will be establish 'double structure' of Nepalese regional system : rapid development in limited urban center and relatively backward rural socio-economy.

Another statistics also show such structure of social issue, that is the statistics of school enrollment. Table 3 is the development of school enrollment (primary of class 1-5, lower secondary of class 6-7, and secondary over class 8) by district. It is clear that some area where de-population process is clear according to Table 1 data, student enrollment of primary school is decreasing.

A Japanese agricultural scientist Tokumi ODAGIRI indicated that rural communities lose four kinds of vital factors through rapid de-population especially out-flow of youth population. That important four factors are, population, land, community and pride (ODAGIRI: 2009). These factors are well breeding through community experience and social education through local level. From that viewpoint, basic statistics of school employment trend is also alarming for rural human resource development, because that statistics indicate, in Nepal rural quantities of human resource may become decreasing, so cultivating its quality is important issue for future, for rural development. For this theme, further research for evaluate or estimate school system for rural area is important, so the author will also continue field survey of this area.

#### Acknowledgement

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Table 3. Statistics of School by District, 2001-2010 in Nepal

S.N.	Area	Number of School 2001			Number of School 2010			Number of School Change (%)			Student Enrollment 2001			Student Enrollment 2010			School Enrollment Change (%) 2001-2010			
		Primary	Lower Secondary	Secondary	Primary	Lower Secondary	Secondary	Primary	Lower Secondary	Secondary	Primary	Lower Secondary	Secondary	Primary	Lower Secondary	Secondary				
	Nepal	24,385	7,212	4,042	31,618	11,456	6,813	29.66	58.85	68.56	3,349,105	1,034,230	441,356	4,986,805	1,612,892	778,905	48.90	55.95	76.48	
1	Mountain	6.37	766	367	3,907	1,160	599	20.88	51.44	63.22	294,672	71,316	28,184	441,718	117,429	47,557	49.90	64.66	68.74	
2	Hill	11.94	4,165	2,413	18,437	6,809	4,207	29.49	63.48	74.35	1,732,274	546,100	233,575	2,277,989	833,227	373,757	31.50	52.58	60.02	
3	Tarai	19.07	6,915	2,281	9,274	3,487	2,007	34.11	52.87	59.03	1,322,159	416,814	179,601	2,267,098	667,236	309,582	71.47	57.68	72.37	
1	EDR	9.16	5,609	1,658	6,589	2,237	1,274	17.47	34.92	42.51	812,684	263,191	122,232	1,043,869	358,151	176,221	28.45	36.08	44.17	
2	CDR	20.94	7,060	2,382	9,414	3,798	2,513	33.34	59.45	78.61	976,377	316,957	143,064	1,684,769	512,470	250,252	72.55	61.68	74.92	
3	WDR	8.19	6,116	1,699	7,316	2,582	1,595	19.62	51.97	59.66	840,488	266,584	109,493	927,250	342,950	171,017	10.32	28.65	56.19	
4	MWDR	18.97	3,103	755	3,981	1,548	780	57.30	105.03	95.98	411,032	104,924	38,066	791,180	238,368	107,974	92.49	127.18	183.65	
5	FWDR	16.06	2,497	718	3,418	1,291	651	36.88	79.81	94.91	308,524	82,574	28,501	539,737	160,953	73,441	74.94	94.92	157.68	
1	Taplejung	4.57	282	71	319	104	51	13.12	46.48	59.38	39,258	8,964	3,623	50,561	13,923	6,174	28.79	55.32	70.41	
2	Panchthar	1.83	303	76	45	399	120	73	31.68	57.89	62.22	44,148	12,973	6,062	49,442	18,051	9,139	11.99	39.14	50.76
3	Ilam	4.60	430	102	55	459	142	77	6.74	39.22	40.00	57,118	18,970	6,947	47,599	23,208	10,430	-76.67	22.34	50.14
4	Jhapa	17.81	505	241	142	628	314	201	24.36	30.29	41.55	104,832	40,342	22,877	116,703	53,496	28,062	11.32	32.61	22.66
5	Morang	14.41	559	214	120	599	223	140	7.16	4.21	16.67	116,720	41,075	19,904	144,119	46,488	22,633	23.47	13.18	13.71
6	Sunsari	20.06	320	128	68	502	209	113	56.88	63.28	66.18	71,134	26,727	12,960	107,636	35,954	19,427	51.31	34.52	49.90
7	Dhankuta	1.41	310	86	52	334	106	70	7.74	23.26	34.62	31,828	11,789	3,912	31,781	14,367	6,682	-0.15	21.87	70.81
8	Terhathum	10.08	237	70	30	251	82	42	5.91	17.14	40.00	25,148	8,559	3,777	27,589	9,467	4,992	9.71	10.61	32.17
9	Sankhuwasabha	0.28	345	78	36	401	110	55	16.23	41.03	52.78	33,646	8,269	3,226	36,993	12,397	5,360	9.95	49.92	66.15
10	Bhojpur	9.41	316	93	46	350	109	58	10.76	17.20	26.09	44,118	13,414	5,413	41,367	15,173	7,177	-6.24	13.11	32.59
11	Solukhumbu	0.85	225	62	33	304	76	41	35.11	22.58	24.24	21,190	5,696	2,147	25,504	8,459	3,751	20.36	48.51	74.71
12	Okhaldhunga	5.35	316	63	37	350	104	60	10.76	65.08	62.16	29,562	8,300	3,907	36,103	12,602	6,519	22.13	51.83	66.85
13	Khotang	9.62	452	112	56	488	147	79	7.96	31.25	41.07	49,864	13,956	7,070	58,976	16,742	9,906	18.27	19.96	40.11
14	Udayapur	11.91	310	85	44	440	184	99	41.94	116.47	125.00	42,110	13,730	5,288	66,288	18,333	12,532	57.42	33.53	136.99
15	Saptari	13.32	314	99	54	332	107	61	5.73	8.08	12.96	55,748	17,856	9,073	100,410	27,222	13,469	80.11	52.45	48.45
16	Siraha	12.36	338	78	44	391	90	54	15.68	15.38	22.73	46,260	12,571	6,046	102,798	22,098	9,968	12.22	75.79	64.87
17	Dhanusa	14.45	274	85	54	384	114	66	40.15	34.12	22.22	56,072	17,083	8,133	122,980	25,944	12,254	119.33	51.87	50.67
18	Mahottari	16.79	229	73	37	347	114	59	51.53	56.16	59.46	36,630	11,210	4,799	122,143	23,422	9,095	233.45	108.94	89.52
19	Sarlahi	20.91	339	95	47	509	110	61	50.15	15.79	29.79	53,710	15,841	6,443	137,645	25,308	11,739	156.27	59.76	82.20
20	Sindhuli	5.29	426	92	49	570	182	93	33.80	97.83	89.80	44,614	10,935	4,697	85,909	21,585	4,625	92.56	97.49	1.53
21	Ramechhap	3.34	267	54	30	471	143	74	76.40	164.81	146.67	28,856	6,592	2,493	51,339	19,942	3,943	77.91	202.52	58.16
22	Dolakha	7.86	322	72	38	416	129	76	29.19	79.17	100.00	39,060	10,223	3,893	45,218	16,040	3,393	56.90	15.77	56.90
23	Sindhupalchok	5.36	468	103	51	530	164	97	13.25	59.22	90.20	54,632	12,185	4,654	62,713	19,486	4,278	15.21	59.92	-8.08
24	Kavrepalanchowk	1.11	591	181	93	711	283	183	20.30	56.35	96.77	83,748	21,281	9,383	79,114	32,829	7,681	-5.53	54.26	-18.74
25	Lalitpur	38.19	310	172	126	414	278	228	33.55	61.63	80.95	44,102	18,751	10,369	55,283	28,657	16,130	25.35	52.83	55.56
26	Bhaktapur	34.40	270	143	80	313	222	157	15.93	55.24	96.25	31,200	14,206	8,008	32,119	18,840	11,421	2.95	32.62	42.62
27	Kathmandu	60.93	918	641	480	1,139	920	767	24.07	43.53	59.79	135,844	75,276	35,698	172,268	91,027	52,667	26.81	20.92	47.53
28	Nuwakot	-3.37	430	96	52	502	156	81	16.74	62.50	55.77	49,086	13,368	5,686	58,927	20,164	4,119	20.05	50.84	-27.56
29	Rasuwa	-2.09	102	20	12	110	35	17	7.84	75.00	41.67	7,396	1,676	914	8,941	3,214	679	20.89	91.77	-25.71
30	Dhading	-0.71	461	99	51	612	190	103	32.75	91.92	101.96	58,318	13,644	5,626	73,928	24,614	4,774	26.77	80.40	-15.74
31	Makwanpur	8.89	423	103	53	573	185	103	35.46	79.61	94.34	63,600	16,059	5,977	91,316	29,959	5,503	43.58	86.56	-7.93
32	Rautahat	27.72	264	68	41	367	92	54	39.02	35.29	31.71	36,222	11,150	5,867	121,653	19,545	4,620	235.85	75.29	-21.25

33	Bara	2538	291	68	45	463	112	64	59.11	64.71	42.22	48.376	13.359	5.788	159.221	26.931	12.131	229.13	101.59	109.59
34	Parsa	2101	247	58	28	470	107	64	90.88	84.48	128.57	49.034	10.587	3.989	120.616	22.132	9.628	145.98	109.05	141.36
35	Chitawan	2004	428	159	89	513	262	166	19.86	64.78	86.52	98.690	32.425	13.343	83.436	42.801	23.563	15.46	32.00	76.59
36	Gorkha	651	469	111	67	522	150	86	11.30	35.14	28.36	64.072	18.217	6.755	54.796	23.237	9.860	14.48	27.56	45.97
37	Lamjung	454	376	87	56	416	119	77	10.64	36.78	37.50	45.424	12.598	5.645	37.459	14.647	7.197	17.53	16.26	27.49
38	Tanahu	487	529	135	79	640	212	123	20.98	57.04	55.70	76.174	23.733	8.840	60.011	26.100	12.399	21.22	9.97	40.26
39	Syngia	923	576	160	99	616	211	140	6.94	31.88	41.41	70.230	25.390	11.816	58.875	27.227	15.321	20.44	7.24	31.36
40	Kaski	2888	420	128	78	624	313	245	48.57	144.53	214.10	59.422	21.042	9.967	69.194	36.194	20.069	16.81	72.01	101.35
41	Manang	31.92	29	12	3	29	13	4	0.00	8.33	33.33	840	264	123	539	230	137	35.83	12.88	11.38
42	Mustang	789	67	19	9	70	16	8	4.48	15.79	11.11	2724	639	245	1.737	532	262	36.23	16.74	6.94
43	Myagdi	263	225	68	39	256	87	50	13.78	27.94	28.21	25.036	6.996	2.606	1.737	532	262	36.23	16.74	6.94
44	Purbat	681	324	94	62	359	113	79	10.80	20.21	27.42	39.112	15.721	5.851	31.919	12.969	7.283	18.39	17.51	24.47
45	Baglung	0.40	480	115	62	580	172	110	20.83	49.57	77.42	58.204	17.797	7.786	63.944	21.685	11.326	9.86	21.85	45.47
46	Gulmi	4.41	536	138	80	587	175	107	9.33	26.81	33.71	66.066	20.162	8.652	61.928	22.593	11.926	6.26	12.06	37.25
47	Palpa	0.30	457	141	79	487	181	102	6.56	28.37	29.11	65.758	19.005	7.478	58.189	22.814	11.011	11.51	20.04	47.84
48	Navalparasi	12.96	544	146	80	665	292	139	22.24	100.00	98.75	95.096	27.236	10.506	126.971	44.503	21.615	33.52	63.40	105.74
49	Rupandehi	25.17	439	178	122	526	270	164	19.82	51.69	34.43	83.990	29.784	12.681	128.946	42.338	20.135	53.53	42.22	58.78
50	Kapilbastu	18.39	269	72	37	517	134	78	92.19	86.11	110.81	41.462	13.290	4.629	109.001	23.061	10.338	162.89	73.52	123.33
51	Arghakhanchi	3.81	376	95	47	423	124	63	12.50	30.53	34.04	46.878	14.800	5.913	44.565	16.517	7.627	4.93	11.60	28.99
52	Pyuthan	10.67	294	68	30	351	97	50	19.39	42.65	66.67	37.960	9.403	3.050	50.872	15.127	5.899	34.01	60.87	93.41
53	Rolpa	8.13	297	60	22	392	109	47	31.99	81.67	113.64	32.828	5.881	1.194	57.076	12.192	4.195	73.86	107.31	251.34
54	Rukum	11.91	242	68	29	384	129	63	58.68	89.71	117.24	32.702	6.786	2.190	63.419	15.257	7.418	100.05	124.83	238.72
55	Salvan	14.09	335	57	30	393	103	50	17.31	80.70	66.67	40.650	8.615	2.931	57.076	17.332	7.781	40.41	101.18	165.47
56	Dang	20.65	381	133	70	460	176	110	20.73	32.33	57.14	78.396	23.489	7.396	91.160	37.725	17.417	16.28	60.61	135.49
57	Banka	27.78	205	62	34	396	162	93	93.17	161.29	173.53	40.560	11.656	4.331	93.176	25.344	12.192	129.72	117.43	181.51
58	Bardiya	11.58	256	83	37	327	138	70	27.73	66.27	89.19	65.624	16.694	5.710	79.880	34.706	15.286	21.72	107.89	167.71
59	Surkhet	24.81	432	89	51	540	161	79	25.00	80.90	54.90	59.962	15.222	6.950	73.008	25.592	11.320	21.76	68.13	62.88
60	Daitikh	17.16	334	77	37	472	139	74	41.32	80.52	100.00	35.114	9.878	3.942	77.191	20.186	9.698	19.83	104.35	146.02
61	Jajarkot	27.95	264	49	22	383	108	40	45.08	120.41	81.82	23.136	4.308	1.469	54.996	13.464	6.805	137.71	212.53	363.24
62	Dolpa	24.22	111	16	5	117	24	12	5.41	50.00	140.00	4.946	6.35	2.71	6.603	1.582	7.26	33.50	149.13	167.90
63	Jumla	21.59	120	33	11	158	64	33	31.67	93.94	200.00	8.812	2.416	8.23	26.182	6.009	2.919	197.12	148.72	254.68
64	Kalikot	34.14	160	42	21	283	80	34	76.88	90.48	61.90	12.600	2.817	1.191	37.787	8.454	4.222	199.90	200.11	254.49
65	Mugu	25.89	122	23	12	131	29	14	7.38	26.09	16.67	4.246	9.59	4.75	11.749	2.737	1.351	176.71	185.40	184.42
66	Humla	25.65	108	23	9	94	29	11	12.96	26.09	22.22	4.284	1.449	3.87	9.005	1.662	7.45	10.20	14.70	92.51
67	Bajura	24.57	198	49	26	218	75	34	10.10	53.06	30.77	14.578	3.463	1.137	3.359	2.929	126.47	141.17	157.61	171.25
68	Bajhang	17.51	279	70	35	393	115	60	40.86	64.29	71.43	27.062	4.961	2.035	55.160	11.504	5.520	150.02	131.89	171.25
69	Achham	11.56	235	68	31	457	128	72	94.47	88.24	132.26	27.942	5.601	2.317	76.442	15.806	8.068	173.57	182.20	247.78
70	Doti	2.30	315	83	40	380	139	62	20.03	67.47	55.00	14.44	52.188	10.933	4.426	6.695	81.04	106.44	106.44	106.44
71	Kailali	24.90	470	155	70	555	273	137	18.09	76.13	75.71	90.186	26.761	7.854	125.682	49.192	21.739	39.36	83.82	176.79
72	Kanchanpur	17.58	243	86	43	323	178	107	32.92	106.98	148.84	51.416	15.677	5.267	72.922	28.990	14.271	41.83	84.92	170.95
73	Dadeldhura	12.19	100	31	16	249	109	53	30.23	251.61	218.75	9.990	3.168	1.198	30.283	11.467	3.397	203.13	243.32	183.56
74	Bairadi	7.55	363	103	49	509	177	90	40.22	71.84	83.67	36.492	10.021	3.509	64.034	16.841	7.990	75.47	68.06	127.70
75	Darchaula	9.40	294	73	34	334	97	52	13.61	32.88	52.94	24.598	6.727	3.040	3.011	8.841	5.111	87.76	31.43	68.13

Data source: CBS Nepal, "Statistical Yearbook of Nepal 2011"

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## 【Abstract】

## School Enrollment and Population Decrease in Rural Nepal : A Case of Gorkha District

小 林 正 夫

2000年以降のネパールでは、急速に進むグローバル化のもので、若年男性の国外出稼ぎ急拡大と彼らの送金に依存した社会経済が形成された。外国からの仕送りは、首都カトマンズをはじめ主要都市部で、携帯電話や各種電化製品、外食などに象徴される欧米型ライフスタイルを生み、都市部は出稼ぎに行けない若年雇用の受け皿になった。これに対して、マオイスト（ネパール共産党毛沢東派）による武力闘争に翻弄された丘陵・山間の村では、従来の、基幹男子労働力のみが家族を村に残して他出する出稼ぎ形態に変化がみられる。すなわち、家族（世帯）ごと都市部に流出してしまう、かつての高度経済成長期の日本の農山村の過疎現象を彷彿とさせる村の空洞化現象の発生である。

本稿は上記の動向を、国勢調査ならびに子育て世代の人口動向を象徴する学校生徒のデータから検証するとともに、国外出稼ぎが盛んな地域の一つである西部ゴルカ郡の動向を、今後予定する現地調査に先駆けて行った予備フィールドワークでの知見と関連づけて整理した。

2001年からの10年でネパールの総人口は相変わらずの伸びを示すが、外国出稼ぎが伝統的に盛んな中・西部の丘陵・山間地域では、国勢調査史上初めて、人口減少を示す郡が、例外的少数ではなく地域的にまとまって発生した。これら人口減少地域では、学校の生徒数、とくに就学率がある程度高く就学率向上でカバーしきれない小学校の生徒数が、2000年代前半をピークに減少傾向に転じている。これは、若年男性だけでなく、外国出稼ぎによる資金を得た子育て世代が、妻や子供とともに生活を、同じ郡内でも都市部へ、さらにはカトマンズなどより大きな都市に移していることを示唆している。

これには、同じく2000年以降に進んだ道路網の整備が影響している。ゴルカ郡では、郡庁からかつての街道網沿いに1990年代に非舗装の道路が拓かれたが2000年代には舗装され、通年運行の定期バスによって郡の大半の地域に（かつては2泊以上かかったところに）半日程度で到達できるようになった。その結果、各村の中心集落に小規模ながら存在した荷役や交易などの非農業経済を消滅・弱体化させた。また山間部の手間がかかり高コストの自給的農業生産は、平野部やインドからの安い移入食糧によって経済合理性に疑問が生じ、郡庁周辺の住宅化が進む地域を除くと、農地の地価上昇が頭打ちになり、出稼ぎ者にとって仕送りの投資対象としての価値を減じることになっ

た。バスに加えオートバイが普及すると、親は村に残して、若い世代が教育や近代的生活を目的に町に流出しやすくなる。他方で、村の非農業人口であった学校教員や官吏は勤務先で下宿するよりバイクで中心市から通うようになった。こうした一連の都市や外国に向けた挙家離村型人口流出は、これまで一貫して増加してきた初等中等教育に一部縮小の動きをもたらしている。